

# racism goes global

linking the activities of multinationals,  
human rights abuses of authoritarian  
regimes and refugee flight





Map design: Benoi-Expression  
Cover photo: David Hoffman

## EDITORIAL STATEMENT

**IT'S TIME** anti-racists lifted their noses from the grindstone and looked at ways in which the domestic fight against racism is being shaped by international forces. For the simple truth is that the relentless drive towards the integration of markets on a global scale is shaping every government decision – from the dismantling of the welfare state to the privatisation of prisons, from the introduction of restrictive immigration and asylum laws to new codes on human rights – which, in turn, shapes racism.

Furthermore, anti-racists will be incapable of challenging the EU-thinking that labels refugees as economic migrants and welfare scroungers, if our campaigns fail to take globalisation into account. As protests against the activities of Shell in Nigeria and Premier Oil in Burma have shown, refugees today are as much the victims of the global market and its increasing domination by transnational corporations as of state persecution.

There is another reason why anti-racists

# racism g

**Globalisation, we are told by the likes of Tony Blair, is, in the final analysis, a good thing. But good for whom? For the West or for the Third World? For rich or for poor? For black or for white? Here, in the UK, counter-globalisation networks are publicising the facts that European politicians like Blair seek to obscure.**

In May, the World Development Movement (WDM) launched 'People Before Profits', a campaign designed to expose multinationals' abuse of human rights, workers' rights and the environment. The activities of five multinational companies – Nestlé's, Rio Tinto, Shell, P&O and Premier Oil – were highlighted through a week of direct action at the companies' respective AGMs. 'The idea of the People Before Profits campaign, a WDM spokesperson told CARF, 'is to point to ways that campaigners can hold multinationals to account. On the one hand, we want to increase shareholders' awareness about the powers they hold. But we also want to generate debate and media interest.'

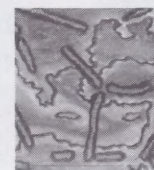
### Multinationals and repression

The action at Rio Tinto's AGM was to draw attention to the multinational's abuse, through its American sister company Freeport McMoran, of the Amungme tribal people of Irian Jaya (also known as West Papua) where RT has invested £500m in the

expansion of the Grasberg mine, transforming forested hills into a vast complex of mines, roads, towns and the world's largest tramway, and polluting rivers with 100,000 tonnes of waste each day. Yosepha Alomang, an Amungme leader who has been imprisoned and tortured for voicing dissent, was prevented from travelling to the UK to attend the AGM by Indonesian security forces.

Alomang was also due to testify at an alternative factual general meeting organised by WDM and other campaigning groups.

In both Nigeria and Indonesia, multinationals have relied on the direct intervention of the military to pursue their objectives. Another country where there is a direct link between human rights abuses, the activities of multinationals and the creation of refugees, is Burma, where the UK-based international exploration and production company, Premier Oil, has formed a partnership with the military regime to develop offshore gas reserves. 'This will



**CONTENTS** Globalisation analysed **2-4** • Refugee children **4-5** • Lawrence inquiry **6** • Euro youth work **7-9**  
Racism in prisons **10-11** • Campaigns and reports **12-15** • Calendar of race and resistance **16**

Campaign Against Racism and Fascism • No 44 June/July 1998 • BM Box 8784, London WC1N 3XX • Tel: 0171-837 1450 • E-mail: info@carf.demon.co.uk • <http://www.carf.demon.co.uk/> • ISSN 0966-1050 • Printed by Russell Press (TU)



must align themselves with the fight against globalisation. From peoples' tribunals to alternative summits, from consumer boycotts to direct action against multinationals – some of the most important campaigning tools today are being developed by counter-globalisation networks, mobilising new constituencies in the struggle for social justice. While 50,000 people linked arms in a human chain around the G8 Birmingham Summit in support of

Jubilee 2000's campaign for the cancellation of Third World debt, a number of other important but less-publicised initiatives were also taking place. These are campaigns which, though grassroots and local, have an effect that goes beyond national boundaries; campaigns which, while directed towards a specific target, show the links between the activities of western multinationals, the human rights abuses of authoritarian regimes in the Third World

and the subsequent causes of refugee flight.

Where governments obscure, anti-racists must illuminate. Hence, from this issue on, CARF will join those turning the spotlight onto the activities of multinationals and their governmental backers. But it is not CARF's intention to tag anti-globalisation on to anti-racism; rather, we want to make such issues central to our campaigning work so as to give anti-racism a new direction and impetus. ■

# oes global

provide the regime with a new source of revenue and will fuel oppression in a country where torture, forced labour and human rights abuses are routine and widespread,' says the Burma Action Group. Already 25,000 people have been forcibly moved from the Tenasserim region to make way for the pipelines, originally laid by Total and Unacol, and forced labour – including women and children, the sick and the elderly – has been used to build roads and military barracks. According to campaigners, Premier Oil is benefiting, albeit second hand, from the increased military presence initially needed to secure the area for the. And in a video statement smuggled out of Burma, the pro-democracy leader, Aung

San Suu Kyi calls for Premier to withdraw its investment, arguing that 'it is doing a great disservice to the cause of democracy' and 'should be ashamed of itself'.

## The People's indictment

Many campaigning groups find public hearings an effective way of drawing attention to the activities of multinational companies. Thus, in May, the Permanent People's Tribunal, also known as the Basso Tribunal (since 1979, successor to the Bertrand Russell Tribunal) held a special hearing in Brussels on the subject of workers' and consumers' rights in the garment industry. Following a request from the International Clean Clothes Campaign, the tribunal focused on the activities of seven multinational companies involved in the garment trade – Nike, Levi Strauss, C&A, H&M, Adidas, Otto Versand and Walt Disney.

The tribunal heard the testimonies of 15 witnesses (workers, researchers, trades unionists and NGO representatives from Asia, Africa and Latin America), as well as reports from ten Clean Clothes Campaigns from across Europe. It concluded that clothes made for export to the European market are made on the



basis of gross violations of basic labour rights for which the responsibility lies squarely with the multinationals – both retailers and producers.

Now, the International Forum on Clean Clothes will take the momentum built up over the tribunal to the World Cup, where it will draw attention to the activities of World Cup sponsors Adidas. At the same time as Adidas has closed practically all of its European factories, 98% of production has been subcontracted to countries in the Third World offering cheap labour. Could this be because Adidas is the only one of the main producers of sports equipment not to have a code of conduct and to ignore all consumer requests for information on working conditions?

## Fortress Europe, corporate Europe

The issues thrown up by these counter-globalisation networks also bring another dimension to anti-racist campaigns against Fortress Europe. The Europe that denies citizenship rights, encourages repatriation and clamps down on refugee rights, is



WDM and other human rights campaigners protest against Premier Oil outside its London AGM in May

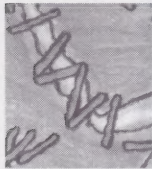


# Scandal of the

**A scandal surrounding the disappearance of a number of young female asylum-seekers has focused attention on the way the Home Office fails the most vulnerable children.**

also the Europe that represents the interests of the European multinationals. Big business is increasingly setting the agenda in the UK, say campaigners. They are angry at a new scheme to give public companies – including those involved in the arms trade – exclusive access to Labour's policy-making process for subscriptions of £1,000. According to the Campaign Against Arms Trade, 'This kind of access and influence is clearly unethical: it's the tail wagging the dog, something we've suspected for a long time.'

As EU leaders meet in Cardiff in July for the next European Summit, 'Reclaim Europe' (set up following the Amsterdam 'Eurotop' Alternative Summit in June



1997) will be organising an Alternative Summit, drawing attention to the real dynamic forces behind EU policy and the greater global drive

toward free trade and international competitiveness. One campaign which will certainly feature high on the campaigners' agenda is the UK Presidency Project, a coalition of more than 200 of the UK's voluntary sector development agencies, set up to monitor the UK's European Presidency in relation to the Lomé Convention, the EU Code of Conduct on Arms and other development issues. Its most immediate concern will be to draw attention to a meeting of European agricultural ministers on 22 June, where the future of the EU's trade policy on Caribbean bananas will be decided. In the past, Caribbean farmers have had preferential access to the European banana market. But now this relationship is under threat. The World Trade Organisation has ruled it discriminatory; in future the small-scale producers of the Caribbean Islands must compete with multinationals such as Dole and Del Monte which own huge banana plantations in Cameroon and the Ivory Coast. According to the Windward Island Farmers' Association, 'If protection is taken away, the result is likely to be cataclysmic, plunging the people of these island states into poverty, unemployment and economic unrest.' More repression and another refugee crisis will follow as surely as night follows day. ■

World Development Movement, 25 Beehive Place, London SW9 7QR. Tel: 0171 242 1441.

International Clean Clothes Campaign, PO Box 11584, 1001 Amsterdam, Netherlands. Tel: 00 31 20 4122785.

Permanent Peoples' Tribunal, c/o Lelio Basso International Foundation, Via della Dogana Vecchia, 5, 00186 Rome, Italy. Tel: 00 39 6 68 80 14 68.

Reclaim Europe, 1B Waterlow Rd., London N19 5NJ. Tel: 0171 272 9333.

A report in the *Sunday Mirror* of 15 February claimed that ten girls between the ages of 15 and 17 had disappeared from hostels in Worthing. Police believe the girls were recruited – possibly by force – to work as prostitutes in the large lorry parks of northern Italy. The last alleged victim was a 15-year-old Nigerian girl who was placed in social services care when she told immigration officers in Gatwick that she had fled Nigeria. But two weeks later she disappeared, leaving most of her possessions in the hostel.

West Sussex social worker Elizabeth Little said, 'Most of them arrive empty-handed and really traumatised. Many have heart-breaking stories of persecution and torture in their own countries.' The National Missing Persons Helpline expressed its concern for the safety of these 'very young and vulnerable people'.

The Home Office claims that there is nothing it can do: it can't detain minors, which would be the only way to ensure they can't disappear. But the Home Office response is dishonest and disingenuous: it does detain minors. Its treatment of child refugees is the same as its treatment of adults: hostile, disbelieving, and uncaring. This treatment drives children, as well as adults, underground, into illegality, crime and the arms of the traffickers who promise better treatment elsewhere.

## No public sympathy

In 1994, the arrival of several unaccompanied Ethiopian and Eritrean children in Britain created a brief media stir. In stark contrast to general public sympathy for the children's plight, the immigration minister's response was hostile and unhelpful, accusing the children's parents of cynicism and lack of care for their children. In fact, as he should have known, the parents were protecting their children from forced conscription into the Ethiopian army, which was dragooning 14-year-olds into the war against Eritrean liberation. The only way to save the children was to send them as far away as possible.

The Home Office's refusal to compre-

hend the reasons for the children's flight is repeated in its failure to treat child refugees either as children or as refugees. Since 1993, all asylum-seekers, including children, have their fingerprints taken. And contrary to its assurances that child asylum-seekers are almost never detained, and then only for very short periods, they are frequently held. Two of the nine Campsfield defendants accused of rioting while in detention there are under 18, and had been detained for months at the time of the 'riot' in August 1997. And when a 17-year-old Angolan asylum-seeker tried to hang himself at Campsfield, he was transferred to Rochester prison, where he spent his 18th birthday. Eventually, he was granted refugee status – but only after spending 156 days locked up.

## Home Office disbelief

There are some 40,000 young refugees (including asylum-seekers and the children of asylum-seekers) in the UK today. Every year 6,000 applications for asylum are made by under-17s, of whom 900 have arrived here alone. But the general 'culture of disbelief' which ensures that only a tiny proportion of asylum-seekers' claims are accepted also leads the Home Office to disbelieve many young refugees' claimed date of birth. Frequently, refugee lawyers are forced to commission medical reports to prove that their young clients are in fact under age. Even that evidence often doesn't satisfy the Home Office: a recent Refugee Council survey reported that of 15 detained asylum-seekers whose claim to be under 18 was confirmed by a paediatrician, none was released by the Home Office, although 13 were subsequently granted bail by immigration adjudicators. The Home Office belief that adult asylum-seekers abuse the system by pretending to be under-age in order to get preferential treatment seems unshakable, even by expert medical evidence.

International conventions such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child require unaccompanied refugee children to be treated with



# missing children

special consideration and care. The immigration rules reflect this, stating for example that children should not be interviewed without an 'appropriate adult', such as a social worker, present. If they have no family in the UK they are supposed to be looked after by social services. But the Home Office frequently breaks its promise to contact the Refugee Council's children's panel whenever an unaccompanied asylum-seeker claims to be a minor. This failure means that many young asylum-seekers have no access to anyone who is familiar with the needs of child refugees and can give them the support and help they

need to make their asylum claim and adjust to life in Britain.

## Poverty and stress

Many young refugees, both alone and with families, suffer from malnutrition and post-traumatic stress when they arrive. But whether they get decent care and medical treatment is something of a lottery. Often, they are not eligible for welfare benefits. According to the Refugee Council there are now over 500 unaccompanied child refugees with no access to welfare benefits at all, as well as 2,300 families with children.

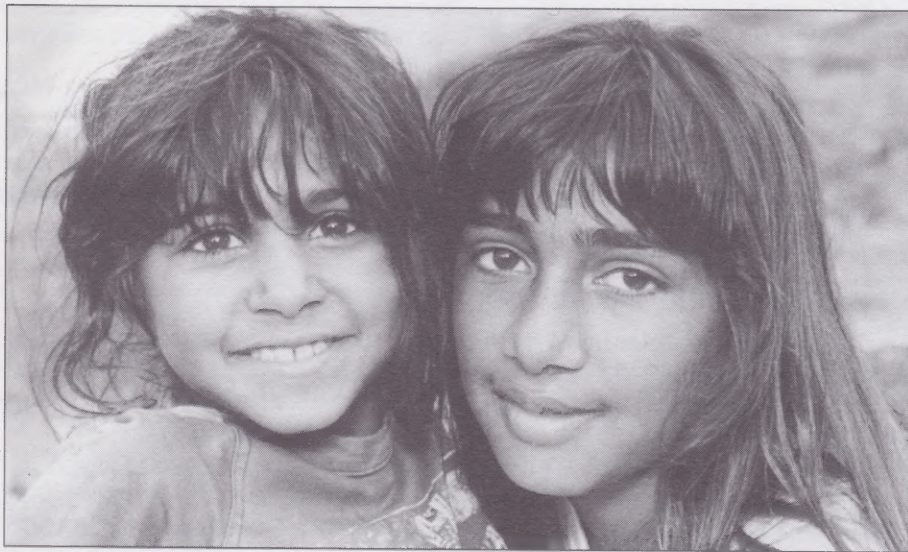
All they will get is whatever their local authority is prepared to offer by way of basic subsistence, board and lodging. Lone 18-year-olds get food vouchers worth £24 a week and bed-and-breakfast accommodation. With no money at all, they're expected to find their way through the asylum process, restart their interrupted education, sort out medical help for their problems and pick up their lives – all this while learning English and trying to get over the events that caused them to flee and the separation from friends, family and familiar places.

The withdrawal of benefits from in-country and rejected asylum claimants in 1996 has had a profound, although largely invisible, impact on children, particularly those in families, who are even less likely to be properly assessed by social services than unaccompanied children. From tiny children, whose mothers have no money for nappies or for their other basic sanitary, health and nutritional needs, to adolescents trying to get to grips with the loss of their old life and friends, learning a new language, often taking on inappropriate adult responsibilities such as interpreting for parents at doctors' surgeries and solicitors' offices, while living in poverty in cramped, squalid conditions – the problems of refugee children are endless.

Some of the children claiming refugee status are orphans, or become orphans when parents die during the legal process. Many find themselves in immigration limbo, living under the threat of deportation after their parents' death, because the Home Office doesn't allow a child to 'inherit' a parent's claim, but requires a fresh application to be made.

Of nearly 1,000 applications from unaccompanied refugee children in 1997, two-thirds were allowed to stay. But having to go through the protracted bureaucratic procedure of making a fresh claim, and being exposed to the fear of deportation – particularly just after having lost their parents – causes untold grief and terror. The worst stress to which child refugees can be subjected is the uncertainty about their fate and the fear of deportation. But there are no special procedures to prioritise children's claims, nor (as in Germany) a rule preventing the deportation of unaccompanied children; young asylum-seekers are expected to bear the same strains and stresses as adults.

In 1989, when the Tory government signed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, it explicitly made children's needs secondary to Britain's immigration laws. It is time the Labour government reversed that inhuman priority and put children's needs first. ■



David Gianaspiero

## CHILDREN OF THE STORM

Refugee children face serious problems with education in Britain. They might have missed several years' schooling through war, civil war or flight. They might need to learn English. And they might have severe psychological and emotional problems as a result of their experiences, on top of all the problems of arriving and surviving in Britain.

Some projects are tackling this problem, along with other educational problems of refugee children. Children of the Storm, set up in 1989, provides under-21s with help for their families, financial assistance, help with learning English and homework, provides school links and raises the awareness of schools to provide help in all areas of refugee children's lives. It has launched a campaign to get OFSTED to take the presence of refugee children into account as a weighting factor in league tables, which would result in more schools being willing to take the children.

Some local authorities are working with refugee groups in projects to further children's education. A refugee education project in Camden set up a homework club in 1994 to support Eritrean children living without their parents in Britain. The project helped to do this by forging links with the Family Service Unit, the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture and other organisations which could offer the children help and support in different ways. It now works intensively with the Somali, Romanian, Albanian, Czech and Slovak communities to support the estimated 2,000 refugee children in the borough. ■

Children of the Storm has produced a video, *Square Fish*, telling the experiences of refugee children, and a publication, *Invisible Students*, on how to provide properly for refugee children in schools. Contact: Children of the Storm at 61 Oak Grove, Cricklewood, NW2 3LS. Tel/fax: 0181 450 0223. e-mail: office@cotstorm.demon.co.uk



# The Stephen Lawrence inquiry

**The public inquiry into the official handling of the 1993 murder of Stephen Lawrence opened in March. Police were accused of incompetence, insensitivity and racism in their response to the stabbing and to Stephen's parents and the survivor of the attack, Duwayne Brooks. This is a summary of the main points to emerge by the third week of May.**

## Police try to turn the tables

The police have responded to the allegations by attacking the grieving parents of Stephen Lawrence, their legal team, and even questioning whether the murder was in fact racially motivated.

Although the gang that murdered Stephen is not disputed to have called out 'What, what, nigger?', police claimed at various points during the inquiry that the attack on Stephen was not racist. CS Matt Baggott (who heads the police team at the inquiry) stated, contradicting police guidelines, 'Words are not sufficient evidence of racial motivation.'

Other police officers, some of whom referred to Stephen as 'coloured', said that they felt let down by the Lawrence family and were being treated with distrust and suspicion. They attacked the Lawrence family solicitor, saying that his insistence on seeing every document relating to the investigation meant that police were 'deflected from the task in hand'.

Sir Paul Condon chipped in to complain that police were being pilloried. The questioning of his officers was too vigorous, unfair and might harm relations between the police and black people. The Lawrence family responded that 'it is a matter of concern that Sir Paul appears to believe it is the truth coming out that puts community relations at risk rather than the conduct of his officers'.

The inquiry continues. See the next issue of CARF for a further update.



## On the night of the attack

- Two sisters who lived opposite the murder scene had no statements taken by police who also refused their offer of medical assistance.
- Duwayne Brooks told the inquiry that police arrived at the scene before the ambulance, but 'police seemed repulsed by the blood that was there ... they did not do anything useful'.
- Police never asked Duwayne if he had been attacked, but asked if he had any weapons on him and insisted that he knew who had attacked Stephen. Police pressed him on what he and Stephen had done to provoke the attack. They would not let Duwayne go in the ambulance with Stephen.
- DS John Bevan asked Duwayne if they had been harassing some white girls in a local McDonalds since they had 'reports of black boys doing that on the night of the murder'.
- Police made repeated reference to Stephen's woolly hat and gloves, implying that he was a cat burglar.
- At the hospital, police showed little concern for Stephen's parents, merely telling them to identify Stephen's body.

## Inadequate response

- Inspector Groves admitted Duwayne was the only suspect when he arrived on the scene.
- Sgt Nigel Clement claimed he was on the scene within minutes and began questioning locals. But he could produce only one local householder who could remember being questioned and police van-tracking records indicate that he arrived an hour later than he stated.
- 30 minutes after the attack, a cheering carload of white youths twice drove past the murder scene. No attempt was made to pursue them. Two of the people in the car, David Copley and Jason Goatley were involved in the gang attack that led to death of the Rolan Adams. The third, Kieran Highland, was a leading member of local fascist gang, Nazi Turn Out. Evidence which pointed to collaboration between organised racist gangs in the area was therefore never pursued.

## The subsequent investigation

- The day after the murder, a woman went to the Lawrences' home to give them the names of people she said had been washing blood off their clothes in her house the previous night. Doreen Lawrence was shocked when she went to the police station and gave a police officer a piece of paper with the names on it; he 'screwed it up into a very tight ball as if he was going to throw it away'.
- On the same day, someone walked into the police station naming the Acourt brothers as members of a gang in which you have to stab someone to join, claiming that Peter Thompson, convicted of killing Asian teenager Rohit Duggal in 1992, was also a member. This informant also gave details of an attack by this gang on Stacey Benefield. Benefield confirmed the attack by Neil Acourt and David Norris in interview.
- Police officers admitted that they had enough evidence to arrest Norris and Acourt but that a 'strategic decision' was taken to wait.
- Surveillance of the Acourts' house began the next day. On consecutive days the surveillance team saw suspects walking out of the house carrying bin bags and driving away. They were not pursued because the team did not have a mobile phone.
- Gary Dobson (one of the accused who later had charges against him dropped) was questioned by police and denied knowing Norris. A surveillance photo of the two men together was never shown to the interviewing officer. Gary Dobson's father is a former police officer.
- No records were kept of chief superintendent Ian Davidson's meetings with witness James Grant. It was admitted that 'very good potential evidence' had been lost.
- One eye-witness to the murder was not asked for information for an artist's impression for five years. After the murder he was asked to go to an ID parade but waited at the police station for nine hours, and so left.
- Another witness refused to attend further ID parades after police called his name at the first, identifying him to suspects.
- Police failed to take a statement from a teenager who wrote in her diary on the week of the murder, 'Acourts stabbed black boy up Well Hall Road, Jamie, Neil, Gary, David and Lukey'.
- It was suggested that the police's failure to pursue the case vigorously was due to the involvement of David Norris, whose father was locally feared. Clifford Norris had a reputation for buying off and threatening witnesses (he paid Stacey Benefield £2,000 to drop assault allegations). When he was arrested in an unrelated case he had two loaded firearms and a sub-machine gun with a silencer. Could he, asked Mike Mansfield, for the Lawrence family, have threatened or bought off police officers too?





## **BERLIN** crossing the youth divide

**To be a youth worker in Germany today is to be placed right at the vortex of racism.**

On the one hand, Turkish and Kurdish youth, denied citizenship rights, are excluded from a society that refuses to accept even the concept of multiculturalism, let alone anti-racism. On the other hand, many white German youth, particularly in the east where the neo-nazi German People's Union gained 13% of the vote in the April local elections in Saxony-Anhalt, are being attracted to a neo-nazi underground culture that abhors anything 'un-German'. Recently, the Government Commissioner for Foreigners listed 25 towns and cities as 'neo-nazi centres', unsafe for foreigners.

For some years, there was distrust between the German anti-fascist movement and social workers who embarked on naive projects including sensitivity training to purge neo-nazi violence. But today, as neo-nazi influence on young people is increasing, there is an urgent need to engage with some of the more positive trends in youth work. And for this

reason, Tobias Fassmeyer of the Anti-Racist Initiative went to find out more about Gangway, an organisation doing social work on the streets of Berlin.

Gangway was set up in 1990 in west Berlin, where it worked mainly with young people from non-German backgrounds who could not be reached by conventional youth work, either because they did not go to recreation centres or because they were excluded from them. In 1992, Gangway extended its work to the eastern part of Berlin, targeting young people who were influenced by right-wing ideas although not members of organised far-Right groups. These interviews with Dieter Both, Gangway's Co-ordinator and with Kemal Özbasi, a Turkish social worker in east Berlin, have been abridged from an original feature in ARI's magazine ZAG, translated by Imogen Forster.

**ZAG:** Non-judgmental social work, known as 'accepting' has fallen into disrepute with anti-fascists. How do you understand it?

**Dieter Both:** I find the concept 'accepting' totally misleading and silly.

We don't accept the crimes young people commit, but we try to accept the youth themselves in their entirety. That means no-one is going to be thrown out for wearing a badge saying 'I'm proud to be German'. But if someone goes on a trip and wants to hang a flag out of the bus window, that's going too far. To accept a young person means that first of all we need to be able to talk on the same level. We'll certainly come across basic positions and attitudes that you'd have to call right wing, but which do not surprise us. These young people are children of our society, our adult world.

**How do you understand the origins of extreme right-wing and racist attitudes? Is it, as newspaper reports seem to suggest, mainly a problem among young people?**

I'll say this even at the risk of being misunderstood: I prefer a youngster of 12 or 14 who comes up to me and without knowing me at all, says 'I'm proud to be German' or 'Foreigners out', to a hypocritical policy which talks



in polite language about help with repatriation or for family unification in the countries of origin. The youth often see themselves as translators of the two-faced talk of adults, especially politicians. When people speak of help to repatriate, all it means is 'Foreigners out'. That's everyday racism that young people understand clearly and pick up. We can work with the youth because they put their cards on the table and look to us for dialogue.

**What impression do you have of the young people's social background or affiliations?**

In the eastern districts we deal with children and young people from the most varied social groups. Our members include the children of working parents who don't fit the label of 'losers under re-unification', some whose parents were DDR party loyalists and are now in job-creation programmes if they have a job at all, and those whose parents are unemployed.

The youth themselves range from those without a school-leaver's certificate to those with A-levels, most of them between 14 and 18. In the western part of the city it's different, as we work mainly with migrants and with young people who were born here but don't have German citizenship. They are disproportionately affected by unemployment, and so are their parents and all the people around them. They often have poor exam results, if any, and therefore poor opportunities. In the West there are also considerably more young people with a criminal record.

**Do you try to influence young people's attitudes through special anti-racist projects?**

We certainly aren't going to advertise an anti-racist youth project in an area where we'd know in advance who would take part. But what we do, for example, is organise an initiative test in the form of a treasure hunt with young people from Prenzlauer Berg and Neukölln. This takes place in Kreuzberg, a Turkish area.

I would understand that as anti-racist work, because the youth from Neukölln who are very different in almost every way, meet those from Prenzlauer Berg, stereotyped as 'far-right'. Both groups have to carry out tasks in Kreuzberg, and the whole thing ends with a party in which young people from Kreuzberg also take part. We bring all three groups together, 'up-front', first. It's not a human experiment, but they're all curious about each other. Things like this are a type of grassroots anti-racist work.

**Kemal Özbasi, what motivates you to work in the East as a detached youth worker?**

**Kemal Özbasi:** Like many other immigrants, I had shut myself off as far the East was concerned. At the time of



reunification, I felt excluded, and with the attacks that followed soon after – Mölln, Solingen – the situation was very tense. But my position changed when I had personal contacts with East Berliners and my move to a district in the East was tied up with some very positive experiences. The non-German population in Friedrichshain is steadily increasing – to 8% at the moment. Compared with Kreuzberg, that's tiny, but here nobody, even among the youth, was or is prepared for it. So if young people, who also came from different districts, joined an organisation, they were able to make a big impression in comparison with their colleagues. Right up till last year that caused endless conflicts, even physical fights, between German and non-German youth.

In the DDR, youth clubs were like living rooms for young Germans. With re-unification all that changed, and then the Turkish and Kurdish youngsters came, and people hadn't counted on them at all. Conflicts arise mainly from the fact that people don't know one another and aren't ready to take others as they are. There are also language barriers. So my work in the past few months has mainly been mediating between Turkish, Kurdish and German youth.

**That sounds like the 'multicultural' approach, in which racism is seen as a problem of communication that will disappear when people see that immigrants have rich cultures.**

No, not at all! you have to understand that in Germany there's complete agreement – between political parties and society that Germany is 'German'. It is something I have experienced personally. A lot has to change in many people's minds. I see it at its simplest in the young people I deal with. Political leaders have to give a signal, and recognise that German society is a product of many different cultural influences. Doors have to be opened and I

can't open them. They have to be opened by the people who make policy in this society, and on every social level. People in Germany aren't ready for that at present.

**'Accepting' social work has been criticised for taking care of young people on the far Right, organising leisure projects with them, and thereby creating a framework for right-wingers to consolidate their infrastructure. Is that how you see it?**



'Accepting' social work doesn't mean that we try to accept German youth who tend towards the Right. These youths are part of the upsurge of the Right in Germany, the easiest target, and thus

## STOCKHOLM

**Swedish anti-racists are concerned that social workers have lost control of a meeting place for young skinheads in Stockholm. Now, the anti-racist group *Hasans Vänner* is among those calling on Stockholm city council to withdraw funding from the Hantverkargaten project.**

The skinhead project is a continuation of the controversial Fryshuset project which was set up by Anders Carlberg, a 1960s left-wing student leader who became a Social Democrat member of the Stockholm city council. For six years, between 1988 and 1994, the skinheads ran this centre with practically no supervision at all. Racist propaganda including *Blood & Honour* was openly on sale, neo-nazis were regular visitors and racist skinhead concerts were held on the premises.

The premises were closed in 1996 but shortly afterwards Hantverkargaten was formed. According to anti-racists, the same thing is happening all over again. For instance, last autumn an organisation called Boots and Braces was formed within Hantverkargaten for younger skinheads.



attract criticism very easily. What's happening in Germany should be denounced as outrageous, and especially, what's happening on the political level. The right-wing youth with whom we work are not organised in the sense that they get together at weekends and plan specific assaults. But their values are such that 'to be German' or 'not to be swamped by foreigners' is very important to them. These are the only values they cling to at present. But I know even as someone on the other side, if I listen to them, then something might be achieved. In the end, it can only come through close contact with these youngsters. If I wagged my finger at them like a teacher, I'd just polarise the situation. To say that I accept them isn't to say I don't challenge them or, when I can, refute what they say.

#### So how do you try to influence right-wing youth?

In contrast to adults, young people say what they feel. They don't wrap up their resentments in roundabout ways. This gives me the opportunity to refute their prejudices on the spot with lots of

examples that show the exact opposite of what they assert. But it doesn't help when reports appear in the press, saying, for instance, that Bosnian welfare scroungers have dishonestly obtained 300,000DM. Of course, this really sinks into the kids' heads, and they say, 'When I was at the Social yesterday, I saw Bosnians getting

thousands, it's really unfair!' And of course I see it as my job to oppose that sort of thing. It's not easy to argue against prejudices. Often I feel I'm talking till I'm blue in the face and not achieving anything. But it's all the more gratifying when I see I've given the kids a sudden insight. ■

**'We are not a multicultural society, we remain a German nation.'** Theo Weigel, finance minister.

**'We are friendly to foreigners in our country. But they have to know that they are guests in our country. And if they don't want to be a guest, they can just get out.'** Chancellor Kohl

Nobody can miss the fact that there is a general election in Germany this year. With Chancellor Kohl in serious danger of being kicked out of office, the Christian Democrat Union and its coalition partners, the Christian Social Union and the Free Democrats, have launched a virulently racist election campaign which will send shivers down the spines of anti-racists across Europe. In demagogic speech after speech, senior Conservatives are denouncing the multicultural society, calling for an end to immigration and proposing the compulsory repatriation of immigrants whose children are found guilty of crime (a Turkish couple, who have lived in Bavaria for thirty years, have been given until 31 July to leave the country).

Anti-racists are fearful of what the next few months will hold. A caravan is to travel across Germany from August to September drawing attention to rapidly escalating racist attacks on refugees in the run-up to the election. Supporters of the caravan, which has been organised by a broad coalition of refugee groups, will travel by foot, coach and bicycle, and move from city to city, stopping en route for political demonstrations.

Caravan for the rights of refugees and migrants. International Human Rights Association, Kornstrasse 51, 28201 Bremen, Germany. Tel: 00 49 421 5577 093

## social workers slammed

The young skinheads prefer to call themselves Stolka Skins (Proud Skins) – initials SS – and have participated in several neo-nazi activities. And the telephone answering machine at Hantverkargaten was used to relay information to neo-nazis about a racist concert in Brottbj. The concert was subsequently stopped by the police. All 314 people present were arrested after nazi salutes were given.

#### From psychoanalysis...

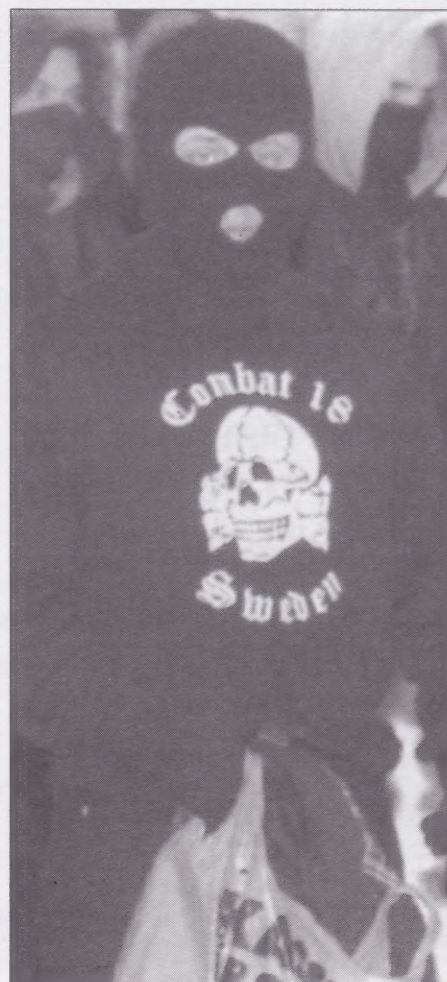
Anti-fascist campaigner Lotta Holmberg is scathing about the theories of trendy social workers that underpin such projects. 'What we are being told about the right-wing skinheads', Lotta told CAREF, 'is that they have been abandoned by their fathers. This is the reason why they are violent and gather in gangs. The solution is to provide them with grown up role models. And the upshot is that we all have to feel sorry for these poor male teenagers.'

In fact, one of the originators of such psycho-babble, is none other than Anders Carlberg, centrally involved in the discredited Fryshuset project. Drawing

on the work of the American Jungian prophet Robert Bly, who wrote about the need to rediscover the 'animal' nature inherent in males, Carlberg has developed a theory of 'positive maleness and nationalism'. Now associated with the New Right attack on multiculturalism, Carlberg argues that 'there has to be a unitary culture, the same for all'. He also believes that Sweden should abandon the Geneva Convention on Refugees, allowing only a limited quota of refugees into the country.

#### ... to state funding

The anti-racists' campaign to date has focused on the question of public funding for projects that aid neo-nazis. Hantverkargaten, which has applied to Stockholm city council for a further £40,000 funding for 1998, has now announced plans to merge with another social work project, Destructive Youth Gangs. But if Swedish anti-racists get their way, state funding will be withdrawn from such projects and channelled into constructive anti-racist work. ■





# A dossier of racism

## CARF asks what is happening to black people in British prisons?



Protests took place after the death of Alton Manning in Blakenhurst prison.

Allegations of brutality amounting to torture abound in Britain's prisons. In March the Prison Service was forced to launch an inquiry after solicitors acting for several inmates (many of whom are black) at Wormwood Scrubs made claims that officers had systematically beaten them. The allegations have prompted the biggest criminal investigation ever made into a British prison, and Amnesty International is now preparing a report on the Scrubs for the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture. Meanwhile, at Feltham Young Offenders Institute, three prison officers have been charged with assault and unlawful imprisonment of remand inmate Carlos Pulgarin. Their trial is expected to start in July.

### Inside the Scrubs

The Scrubs, in west London, is one of the largest prisons in Europe, with over

1,300 inmates.

Daniel Machover of solicitors Hickman and Rose, who is handling several of the current cases, has compiled a dossier detailing allegations of serious assault on over 20 prisoners since October 1996. Many of the prisoners are black or Irish and one is a traveller. Machover describes the allegations as having a definite and shocking racial element. Among the claims being made by prisoners are:

- A prisoner was systematically beaten every day for a month by guards;
- A prisoner was forced to eat a newspaper clipping with a 'Black is beautiful' headline;
- A prisoner was grabbed by the throat, kicked and beaten till he urinated;
- A prisoner had his head stamped on until he blacked out.

The results of the Prison Service inquiry have not been made public, but eight prison officers and a prison governor have

been suspended pending the Metropolitan Police's criminal investigation. Daniel Machover has demanded a full-scale judicial inquiry into Wormwood Scrubs and is also calling for compulsory drug testing of prison officers after claims that some of the assaults have resulted from 'Roid Rage' – the effects of using anabolic steroids.

Since the original dossier of brutality at the Scrubs was presented, the number of prisoners coming forward with claims of mistreatment since October 1996 has risen to 40. But many of the original complainants have had to transfer to other prisons since making their complaints, claiming that they were threatened and intimidated by other guards.

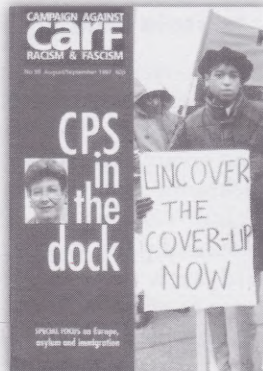
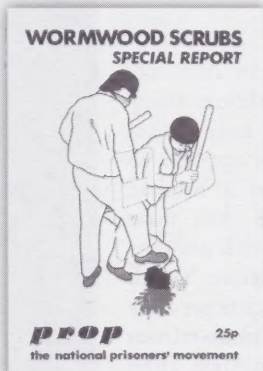
In an unrelated case, Polish-born Andryz Jakubczyk received a £7,000 out-of-court settlement after claiming that guards at the Scrubs seriously beat him. He says he was 'pinned to the ground and my hands and legs twisted behind my back', before being dragged naked to a strip cell, put in a body belt and left for two hours with multiple internal and external injuries.

### A culture of racism

The claims of racism and brutality go deep into the heart of the prison system. Over a year ago, when earlier allegations of brutality at the Scrubs were raised, the Chief Inspector of Prisons concluded that 'we found nothing to support [these claims] during the inspection but we are left with the question why such a strong

### PREVIOUS ALLEGATIONS

In 1979 the National Prisoners' Movement led a campaign after 72 prisoners required medical treatment as a result of what it called 'an assault by an organised riot force of 300 prison officers'.



**DPP QUILTS** Campaigners were able to celebrate a minor victory in May when the Director of Public Prosecutions, Barbara Mills, was forced to resign in advance of the publication of two critical reports of the Crown Prosecution Service she headed. It was the outrage at the non-prosecution of officers involved in the 'unlawful killings' of Shiji Lapite and Richard O'Brien which moved the government to restrict the DPP's decision-making in prosecuting of police over assaults and set up an enquiry into how decisions had previously been made. It is widely believed that the enquiry report will accuse the service of being too soft on officers who injure or kill suspects.



As of June 1997 there were 11,500 black prisoners in British jails ■ Black people constitute 18% of the male prison population and 24% of the female prison population ■ During 1997 there were 68 suicides in prisons in England and Wales ■ There have been 35 suicides so far this year.

rumour should be passed around'.

Why indeed should people suspect racism in the prison service? The culture of racism and the complacency which accompanies it, was graphically demonstrated when Richard Tilt, head of the Prison Service appeared on *Newsnight* on 25 March. Commenting on the inquest verdict of unlawful killing on black prisoner Alton Manning, at the privately run Blakenhurst prison, Tilt claimed that according to Prison Service research the high number of black deaths in prison custody, was because 'Afro-Caribbeans are more likely to suffer positional asphyxia [ie. unable to breathe when restrained] than whites'.

As the storm over Tilt's comments broke, the Prison Service issued a 'clarifying' statement claiming that the prevalence of sickle-cell anaemia among African-Caribbeans can make them more prevalent to positional asphyxia. But Dr Nat Carey, a home office pathologist researching positional asphyxia described Tilt's comments as 'an extraordinary claim', saying, 'I'm not aware of any published data in scientifically scrutinised journals that would suggest there's some fundamental physical difference between Afro-Caribbeans and Caucasians that would give rise to such an abnormality, I'm very surprised that such a suggestion should be made.'

### How many more deaths?

Sickle-cell anaemia or not, Tilt's claims cannot explain the brutal death of Alton Manning inside Blakenhurst. Manning was assaulted by eight officers after he refused to comply with an unjustified anal and genital examination (having already complied with a strip search and cell examination). The post mortem examination showed bruising to his neck and back, eight separate areas of injury to his face and abrasions to his arms and legs. Alton had been handcuffed and held face down on the ground with a guard's knee to his back and pressure on the back of his neck. He was being carried face down towards the segregation wing when blood began coming from his mouth and he became motionless. The restraint methods were in breach of specific guidelines issued after the death of Zairean asylum-seeker Omasase Lumumba in similar circumstances in Pentonville prison in 1991 – guidelines of which the prison officers

denied any knowledge. Restraint methods have also been implicated in the deaths of Dennis Stevens at Dartmoor prison in 1995 and Kenneth Severin at Belmarsh prison in the same year.

Although there are many more cases now coming to light, it would be easy to underestimate the pervasiveness of the brutal racist culture inside British prisons, which has become ingrained as senior management have turned a blind eye. The Prison Reform Trust describes the problem as a 'a firm within a firm'. Gurmit Meer of the East Midlands-based Black Prisoners Support Scheme claims that the vast majority of black prisoners she meets have experienced some form of racist or excessively harsh treatment by prison guards. Little action is taken in response to complaints – after all, how many courts will believe the word of a convicted criminal against that of a prison officer? While Machover has welcomed the fact that the Met is carrying out a serious criminal investigation into the Scrubs allegations, he is concerned that justice may fail at the point where the Crown Prosecution Service is asked to bring charges. 'According to the information I have gathered', he told CARF, 'charges of torture, as well as actual and grievous bodily harm, should be brought'.

Those prisoners who protest their innocence are often singled out for particularly harsh punishments. The alleged treatment of Satpal Ram (see right) provides a case in point. Tilt's announcement in May that he is setting up a new race relations unit within the Prison Service went some way towards remedying the damage his *Newsnight* comments caused, and has been welcomed, albeit cautiously as a first attempt to address the issue of racism in prisons. After all, the institutionalised racism which puts so many young blacks inside prison unnecessarily is not even on the political agenda. But meanwhile, the culture of complacency seems to go right to the top. A letter from the Black Prisoners Support Scheme to Jack Straw called for allegations of brutality to be investigated nationally, not just at Wormwood Scrubs. It detailed the group's concerns that the complaints made through the existing procedures are not investigated, let alone dealt with effectively. The Home Secretary has not deigned to reply. ■

Black Prisoners Support Scheme, 4th Floor, Fenchurch House, 12 King Street, Nottingham, NG1 2AS.

**ELLIOTT MITCHELL** was found hanging in his cell at Reading Remand Centre in February. He had already made a suicide attempt at the police station. Aged 19, Elliott had been diagnosed as having psychosis and anxiety attacks. Elliott who was from Wilton, near Salisbury, grew up in boarding schools where he was racially and sexually abused. After being remanded at Reading he became involved in fights, some of which were racial. He was placed in solitary confinement where he twice tried to hang himself using bed sheets. Despite being placed on a 15-minute-watch, he still managed to take his own life.



**SATPAL RAM** is now serving the twelfth year of a life sentence for murder after he defended his life against a gang of drunken, violent, white racists. The photo above was taken by police as part of an investigation into his complaint of brutality by prison officers in Nottingham. Satpal has now been placed on 'continuous assessment', meaning that he is moved between prisons every four weeks, and held in solitary confinement for 22 hours a day. In a letter to Jack Straw, Satpal writes, 'The climate of terror which pervades at Wormwood Scrubs is not isolated to any one prison alone, there are numerous other gaols in this country today where abuses of authority occur on a daily basis. On numerous occasions I have been the recipient of brutality and torture. Body belts, strip cells and other instruments of torture are frequently used to subdue those unfortunate enough to find themselves at the mercy of these power crazed individuals... complaints are frequently dismissed as mere shamming by inmates with nothing better to do. In reality there are no safeguards to ensure that abuses of authority are subject to any form of regulation.' ■

Write to Satpal Ram (E94164) at HMP Frankland. Free Satpal Campaign c/o 101 Villa Road, Birmingham B19 1NH.





## CAMPAIGNS AND REPORTS

# Self-defence criminalised

Two black youths, Marcus Walters and Francisco Borg, who were arrested by police in Cardiff after seeking protection from a violent racist attack by National Front skins, are considering suing south Wales police after all the charges against them were dropped. They would probably now be serving prison sentences if the incident had not been caught on CCTV, which confirmed their account of events. The youths were in their car with Marcus' 5-year-old sister Emma, when one of the skinheads kicked the car door. When he got out to inspect the damage, Marcus was racially abused and attacked, while another gang member set his pit-bull dog on Emma, who had to be handed to a complete stranger for her protection. The youths fled, flagged down a police car and explained what had taken place, but when they went back to try and find Emma, they were set upon again by the eight-strong racist gang.

Incredibly, as they attempted to fight back, Francisco Borg was forced to the ground by police and sprayed with CS gas. The youths were then thrown into the back of a police van and driven away. Francisco commented later: 'I thought I was going to die... I couldn't breathe properly because the spray went down my nose and throat and I couldn't rub my burning eyes because of the handcuffs. My whole face



Marcus Walters and Francisco Borg

was peeling for days afterwards.' They were charged with violent disorder and actual bodily harm. They were advised to plead guilty by their solicitor, but refused, and the case was thrown out of court in April when the prosecution offered no evidence. Only one of the racist gang, NF member Sean Canavan (29) from Llandaff, north Cardiff, was arrested at the scene and it was three months later, after pressure from the local Citizens Advice Bureau, that two more men were arrested. Canavan and John Shepherd (27), the owner of the dog set on Emma, pleaded guilty to violent disorder while Raymond Lovell (40) pleaded guilty to using threatening words and behaviour. Sentencing was delayed. ■

## • FASCIST ROUND-UP •

### Fascists attack school

Nazi thugs daubed the multiracial Counthill school in Oldham with racist graffiti including 'Kill Paki's' and 'Enoch Powell was right' after it won a 'Kick Racism out of Football' award in April. The following week an Anti-Nazi League stall was attacked by fascists in the city centre.

The local newspaper, the *Evening Chronicle*, has played a major role in stirring-up the racists, by running an irresponsible article alleging that 'three out of four victims of racial crime are white'. The BNP leapt gleefully onto the *Chronicle's* bandwagon. April's *British Nationalist* leads with the warning of 'ethnic cleansing in Britain'. It fails to mention that their entire leadership has done time for vicious racist attacks at one time or another.

Anti-racists have launched an 'Oldham Unity' campaign which is backed by the local Trades Council, the NUT, Oldham Action Against Racism, Oldham Afro-Caribbean Project and the Anti-Nazi League. ■

### Griffin gets suspended sentence for racist material

BNP führer-in-waiting, Nick Griffin, has been milking his latest court case for all it's worth. Griffin's charge of inciting racial hatred, after police seized 300 copies of his racist magazine the *Rune*, was billed as 'an outrageous assault on free speech' in April's *British Nationalist*, and a 'free speech war chest' was launched to raise £5,000 on his behalf. They even flew in a couple of obscure 'black separatists', who apparently share the BNP's view that violent racist attacks on black people will encourage 'separate development' – to give evidence for their 'spiritual brother'. After all the hyperbole Griffin got a nine month suspended sentence and was fined £2,000. The-more-than-solvent Griffin, who has split every far-Right organisation he has ever been involved in, must be laughing all the way to the bank at the BNP foot-soldiers who subsidise his little japes. ■



Phil Andrews

### Ex-Fascist councillor elected

The National Democrats and the BNP did badly in the May local elections. Only in east London did their votes reach three figures. Others had more success by hiding their true politics. Former west London National Front organiser, Phil Andrews, won an Isleworth council seat in May's council elections, prompting a boycott pledge from all the mainstream parties. Andrews was a strong advocate of 'law and order' in his NF days, until he was banged-up for 6 months in 1986 for assaulting a black copper on St George's Day. Since 1994 he has stood as an 'independent' Isleworth Community candidate, representing a few racist mates and relations who bang on about such controversial subjects as cracks in the pavement while covertly supporting compulsory repatriation and Holocaust revisionism. Anti-racist groups have pledged to demonstrate when and if he attends meetings. ■



## Campsfield: campaign vindicated



A protest was held outside the headquarters of the Crown Prosecution Service in April to demand that charges be dropped against the Campsfield Nine.

Sir David Ramsbotham's inspection report of Campsfield detention centre, which was finally published in April, was devastating in its criticism of the Home Office, confirming many of the complaints of the Campaign to Close Campsfield. The main points of the report were: ■ detention is arbitrary ■ there is no effective judicial supervision of detention ■ detention is too long ■ detainees don't know why they're there ■ there is no effective complaints system ■ the only disciplinary sanction for detainees is transfer to prison, which is 'grossly inappropriate' ■ detainees have nothing to do ■ Group 4 don't have a clue

what their powers and responsibilities are ■ the physical conditions (rooms, furniture, bedding, food) are bad. Somehow, immigration minister Mike O'Brien and his spin doctors managed to convey the impression, in news features responding to the report, that Ramsbotham's main recommendation was that more immigrants and asylum-seekers should be locked up. This is a travesty of

### THE CAMPSELD NINE ARE INNOCENT

PROTEST: every Monday while the trial continues, outside Oxford Crown Court, St. Aldates, from 8.30am. Tel: 01865 558145 / 557282

## German sanctuary grows



By the end of May, around 130 rejected Kurdish political refugees under threat of deportation were in sanctuary in more than ten cities in the federal state of Nordrhein-Westfalen (NRW).

Since January, the criminalised refugees have travelled in a caravan between parishes and cities. The Kurdish families are hopeful that they will win their struggle for legalisation because solidarity for the protest action is growing. A nation-wide campaign, 'No one is illegal' is giving support and a growing number of parishes provide sanctuary even though the leaders of the Protestant church have disassociated themselves from the campaign.

In a parliamentary debate on 8 May, FJ Kniola, the regional interior minister, made it clear that he will continue the hard-line approach of the Social Democrat Party and blamed the churches for allowing themselves to be used by the 'No one is illegal' campaign.

Only the PDS, the Greens and some individuals in SPD are supportive of refugee rights and anti-racism at a time when election propaganda uses migrants and refugees as scapegoats. Klaus Kinkel, Germany's foreign minister, has proposed punishing countries resisting the repatriation of their citizens by depriving them of aid. He outlined his blackmail attempt in an interview in *Bildzeitung*: 'When countries fail to co-operate in this area, they must be aware of the possible consequences: reduction or withdrawal of foreign aid.' The relationship with Turkey is a special issue in the election campaign as there is resistance to Turkish membership of the EU.

Campaign group 'Fluchtalternative Westtuerkei' has pledged to continue its struggle against deportations to Turkey. A public hearing will be held in Düsseldorf on 7 June to draw public attention to violations of human rights in Turkey and the lack of asylum rights. There will be a discussion with members of Parliament and representatives of the home ministry. ■

There will be a demonstration in Düsseldorf on 13 June. Campaigners urge supporters to send solidarity messages to the rally (fax: 0044-221-3318752).

Ramsbotham's complaint that detainees should never be sent to prison. In a further act of defiance, O'Brien renewed Group 4's contract for a further three years. Despite the confirmation by Ramsbotham that the regime under which detainees are held is probably unlawful, there has been no move to drop the charges against the Campsfield Nine, whose trial on charges of riot and violent disorder – the first trial of immigration detainees ever in Britain – starts on 1 June at Oxford Crown Court. ■

## Chowdhury family must stay

The West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign has begun a fight to prevent the deportation of the Chowdhury family to Bangladesh. Jahed Chowdhury came to Britain seven years ago to stay with relatives. As arrests by Bangladesh's military government increased, he applied for political asylum since he had already been arrested once and feared for his safety if he returned.

In 1994 Jahed's wife Nigat and son Junaed joined him and they now live in Birmingham with another 2-year-old son, Abrar. The family have now become valued members of the local community. Nigat works as a translator and is one of the few Bengali-speaking classroom assistants in the area. A member of the campaign told CARF, 'It would be a tragedy if this family was deported – Junaed, who recently won an award for his schoolwork, would have his education disrupted and Abrar would leave the only home he knows.' ■

Write letters of protest to Jack Straw, Home Secretary, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1. Send copies to WMADC, 299-301 Birchfield Road, Birmingham B20. Tel: 0121 331 1511.

## Watching them, watching us

CARF was pleased to see that civil liberties monitors *Statewatch* were rewarded for their efforts in tackling European secrecy at the Campaign for Freedom of Information Awards. *Statewatch* editor Tony Bunyan has long been a thorn in the side of the EU through his requests to have access to documents relating to justice and home affairs policies. His demands were met with obstructive and secretive replies, leading *Statewatch* to make several successful challenges to the European Ombudsman. The Campaign for Freedom of Information described these challenges as 'significant steps towards holding this powerful body at least partly accountable'. ■

*Statewatch*, the bi-monthly bulletin, contains essential information on EU policies on immigration, policing and justice. Available from PO Box 1516, London N16 0EW. Tel 0181 802 1882.



## Two cultures of English cricket

**Mike Marqusee,  
'Hit Racism for Six' campaign**

While football and rugby league authorities have at least paid lip service to the cause of anti-racism, the cricket authorities have up till now adopted a 'hear no evil see no evil' approach to the touchy subject. However, a new study from the Centre for Sport Development Research at Roehampton Institute has confirmed that cricket in England suffers a major racial divide which threatens the future of the game in this country.

*Anyone for Cricket? Equal opportunities and changing cricket cultures in Essex and East London* produced by the CSDR in collaboration with the London Community Cricket Association and the Essex Country Cricket Board, is the most substantial academic survey yet produced on racial bias in English cricket. It presents extensive evidence demonstrating that there are 'two distinct but related cultures of cricket'.

and cultural stereotypes of black and Asian cricket, to prevent the admission of black and Asian clubs into the official leagues.' As a result, 'many young people are being lost to the game'.

The researchers also interviewed 62 eight to eleven-year-olds from six east London schools – girls and boys, black and white – and found their perceptions of the game largely free of the familiar stereotypes. Most children rejected the Tebbit test and took a relaxed attitude towards national affiliation. Many believed 'one's choice of cricket team was independent of one's ethnic background or indeed original nationality'.

Launching the report at a press conference held at Lord's, Ian McDonald, one of the authors of the report, called on cricket authorities to grant black and Asian cricketers 'the three Rs of cricket development – recognition, respect and resources'.

## HIT RACISM FOR SIX

One is mainly African-Caribbean and Asian, urban and confined to council-maintained public pitches, and 'largely exists outside the official structures'. The other is white, rural and endowed with well-kept private facilities, and 'exists largely as part of the official structure'.

The report repeatedly stresses that, in practice, these two cultures 'are not equal'. African-Caribbean and Asian cricketers, despite their formidable hunger for the game, simply do not enjoy the same facilities, access to leagues, and opportunities to compete as their white counterparts. What's more, they find their way of playing cricket – overtly competitive, sometimes highly vocal – frowned upon by white players and officials. 'Most black and Asian players argued that the mainstream leagues hide behind league regulations

Terry Bates, the England and Wales Cricket Board's development officer, was palpably uncomfortable with the whole issue, but was compelled to accept that something had to be done, and committed the cricket board to producing an anti-racist 'mission statement' before the end of the year.

Hit Racism for Six, which has campaigned against racism in cricket since 1995, welcomed the report and the ECB's response to it. The group is calling on the ECB to take three basic steps: convene a national forum of all bodies involved in African-Caribbean and Asian cricket, draw up a development plan for the game in the inner cities, and adopt an anti-racist charter. ■

Hit Racism for Six is joining forces with the London Community Cricket Association to stage an anti-racist six-a-side festival in London's East End on 29 August. For details contact Ian McDonald at CSDR, Roehampton Institute, London SW15 3SN; fax 0181 392 3541.

enthusiastically received. Prisoners wanted to see the section which randomly displays the ten points of the Black Panther Party Program. So what was the first thing to appear on the huge video projector which sat in front of inmates, prison officers and governors? Point 6: All black prisoners should be freed. ■

## Women against violence and exploitation

A number of campaigns are currently highlighting the struggles of women whose battles against violence, sexual exploitation and brutality are not adequately addressed by the criminal justice system or the Home Office.

■ **Women Against Rape** are campaigning to have rape and sexual violence recognised as forms of torture constituting persecution, so that women raped by soldiers in Bosnia or police in Turkey would be recognised as refugees. Currently, they argue, forms of persecution specific to women – particularly sexual violence – go unrecognised. They also demand more sensitive interviewing techniques, saying that women who have undergone sexual violence should not be subjected to hostile cross-examination by immigration officers.

■ **The campaign for Zoora Shah**, who killed Mohammed Azam in 1992 following 12 years of physical and sexual abuse, suffered a setback when the Court of Appeal dismissed her appeal against her murder conviction at the end of April. The campaign highlighted the extent to which immigrant women are dependent on sometimes violent and abusive men to secure their position in Britain.



Mark Salmon

Prakash Chavrimootoo faced deportation as a result of the one-year rule. She won her battle but many others are still fighting.

■ **The campaign to end the one-year rule**, which forces women to stay with violent and abusive men on pain of deportation, was acknowledged by immigration minister Mike O'Brien, who promised Southall Black Sisters that he would conduct a review. Elsewhere in Europe, campaigners have won the right to an independent residence permit for abused women.

■ **Kalayaan**, the campaigning group for domestic workers in the UK, has secured a promise from the immigration minister that he will do something to remedy the situation of domestic workers enslaved by employers who confiscate their passports and subject them to super-exploitation and sometimes physical and sexual abuse. One option under consideration is to change the rules to allow them to change employer. ■

Women Against Rape c/o Crossroads Women's Centre  
Tel: 0171 482 2496. Free Zoora Shah c/o Southall Black Sisters  
Tel: 0181 574 9595. Kalayaan Tel 0171 243 2942.

## PANTHER PROGRAM VISITS PRISON

Members of the Institute of Race Relations Outreach team attended an open day at Brixton prison in March which exhibited work done by inmates for a black arts project. They took along a copy of the *HomeBeats: Struggles for Racial Justice* CD-Rom, which was



# Dub mentality

**Much of the current debate about Asian youth culture tends to celebrate it uncritically, seeing its existence as a sign that the second generation has finally 'arrived'. CARF takes a look at two very different artistic productions that have recently hit the mainstream – the new album by Asian Dub Foundation, and Hanif Kureishi's new film *My Son the Fanatic*.**

Good politics is not usually uppermost in the minds of the people when buying music and it used to be the case that much political protest music, while worthy in intent, was, well, crap. Now Asian Dub Foundation have shown that political music can be relevant, alive, kicking and also involve some damn fine tunes. Currently being touted as the next big thing by the music press, their new album, *Rafi's Revenge* is a mindblowing blend of dub, jungle, punk and hip hop with a classical Indian touch. It is a sound never before heard in Britain, with an urgency and excitement reminiscent of punk and a feeling that is missing from much of the emerging Asian dance music scene.

ADF's recent championing of the case of Satpal Ram (see p11) resulted in a ten minute item on Channel 4 news asking the perennial question of whether pop and politics can mix. But ADF are not simply a pop group with a passing interest in the trendy issue of the day. They developed out of community music workshops run in east London, which sought to break down the barriers between artists and audiences.

It was here that Dr Das, ADF's bassist, held sessions with Masta D, ADF's MC, then a 15-year-old student.

'It's not a fusion and it's not eclectic,' asserts guitarist Chandrasonic, dismissing the two descriptions most often used about their music. In 'Dub Mentality' we see where they are coming from: 'Dub is a place we come to argue and debate/It isn't just a backdrop for our herbal intake... Listen to the sound of the drum and the bass/Different communities meet up in the same place... Cut and a splice and a regeneration/Militant mix and equalisation/These are the methods for a serious operation/Pushing back the boundaries of our musical civilisation'. For ADF, their music is an expression of being second generation Asians in Britain. 'ADF is about exploring the relationship between different rhythms and different sounds, exposing the interconnections, and the metaphor also extends to the connections between people, economic and historical,' says Chandrasonic. The connections reach far and wide; stretching from 'Naxalite', a celebration of the peasant uprising in 1960s



Bengal, to 'Operation Eagle Lie', from 'Assassin', which tells the story of Udham Singh (aka Mohammed Singh Azad) who took his revenge for the Amritsar massacre by assassinating a former colonial administrator, to 'Free Satpal Ram'.

Now in a position to make a real difference, ADF have exploited every possible opportunity to publicise Satpal's struggle, roping Primal Scream into the campaign and refusing to give interviews unless journalists give a prior undertaking to print details of Satpal's case. Their storming live shows, which are notable for their mix of white indie kids alongside Asian and African-Caribbean junglists, have burnt the refrain of 'Free Satpal Ram' into the mind of everyone who attends.

*Rafi's Revenge* is the album of the year. ■

*Rafi's Revenge* by Asian Dub Foundation is out now on frrr/London records.

## Kureishi: not so cool

As in so many of Kureishi's films, the central character in *My Son the Fanatic* is an Asian man who finds his release in white flesh. Om Puri plays Parvez, a middle-aged Pakistani minicab driver in Bradford who develops a relationship with local white prostitute Bettina. The scenes between them are touching and well-drawn and Om Puri, star of so many Indian films, proves himself to be a magnificent actor. Yet at the same time this film is thoroughly dishonest. Puri's character is the only one allowed to develop as a real person. His peevish wife Minoo is barely given a few sentences. In the case of the son, Farid, the lack of character development is a far more serious flaw, and is very revealing of Kureishi's work. Farid is Top Shop man, a respectable trainee accountant engaged to the local police chief superintendent's (white) daughter. Overnight he becomes a rabid Islamic fundamentalist: breaking off his engagement since 'our cultures can never mix', getting into

arguments with elders at the local mosque and organising protests against prostitution. But despite Kureishi's claim to have conducted research by talking to many young Muslims in colleges and being concerned at their fundamentalist tendencies, nowhere does he explore Farid's personal turn towards fundamentalism or explain its context. Farid is a one-dimensional caricature who makes set-piece speeches against 'white and Jewish propaganda'. He exists in the film only as a counterpoint to the development of his father's relationship with Bettina. The result is that the issue of fundamentalism (which is what the film purports to be about) becomes nothing more than Kureishi's controversial selling point – his 'Asian Kool' which marks him out from the rest of the liberal arts establishment. We are presented with scenes which, having no context or explanation, serve no function other than to demonstrate Islam's barbarity – the banishing of



Minoo to eat alone in the kitchen, a violent demonstration against a brothel in which prostitutes are assaulted and spat on – which will all provoke debate about how Islam cannot coexist alongside western civilisation. It should not, then, come as a surprise to find that *My Son the Fanatic* has succeeded in gaining yards of approving press coverage from the same white liberal intelligentsia which used the fatwa against Salman Rushdie to vent their own anti-Islamic hatred. This is an irresponsible film and Kureishi represents the worst in the Asian arts movement as someone who is happy to draw his material from Asian communities, yet has no responsibility towards them. ■



**APR 1** Four Romanian Gypsies are detained after being discovered in a lorry in north London... 54-year-old John Pollit, a self-confessed racist, given two years probation after throwing urine over his disabled neighbour

**APR 2** Four Sri Lankan stowaways are arrested in Kent, after travelling in a lorry from Holland... Family of a 12-year-old Tanzanian boy receiving treatment for leukaemia ordered to leave the country... House of Lords ruling excludes civil war refugees from the definition of a 'refugee' in an appeal by Home Secretary against the Court of Appeal judgement... Patel family in Brighton appeal for witnesses after latest arson attack on car marks four years of racial harassment

**APR 3** Army launches £2.5 million recruitment drive aimed at ethnic minorities and women **APR 5** Prison Service head Richard Tilt apologises to family of Alton Manning for comments that black men are more likely than whites to suffocate during restraint **APR 6** A 16-year-old youth and his family are evicted by Tower Hamlets council from Limehouse Fields estate after their four year campaign against Bengali residents **APR 8** Home Office announce fines of £2,000 (per person) for Eurostar for carrying passengers without visas **APR 9** Former policeman Lawrence Ramadas, who previously won case of discrimination against Strathclyde police loses right to compensation after tribunal rules that claim 'out of time' **APR 10** Government announces visa restrictions on Kosovans and Kenyans trying to enter the UK in attempt to reduce number of asylum-seekers **APR 11** New adoption guidelines issued allowing white couples to adopt black children **APR 12** Research by University of Leicester shows that black staff in the NHS face systematic prejudice **APR 15** South Wales police and CPS decide not to prosecute BNP for distributing racist leaflets in Manselton, Swansea **APR 16** Home Office congratulates Group 4 for its running of Campsfield House detention centre and renews contract for three years despite damning inspection report... Asian police officer arrested and suspended from duty in connection with abusive letters sent to black officers at Ealing police station **APR 17** 51 illegal immigrants are picked up by police in Folkestone after being dumped from a lorry **APR 20** Two black men racially attacked

by eight skinheads and then charged by south Wales police with violent disorder and assaulting a police officer have the charges against them dropped... Nottingham County Council announces a rise in racist attacks after 453 were reported last year **APR 23**

Inspector George Lee, the highest ranking Chinese officer in the Met resigns, saying racism is still rife in the force **APR 24** Home office announces U-turn in proposed cuts to CRE budget and reappoints Sir Herman Ouseley as chairman **APR 27** Two Asian men lose test case in High Court over right to stay in UK, both men are married with British children **MAY 3** Former NF Chairman Nicholas Griffin given nine month

# 1998

## CALENDAR OF RACE AND RESISTANCE

suspended sentence after being found guilty of publishing material likely\* to stir up racial hatred **MAY 4** Brixton police officers attempt to apprehend burglars in Lambeth Town Hall are overcome by own CS spray **MAY 6** Police reveal that BNP and KKK are targeting deprived areas of Wales for recruits and plan to hold public meeting on 23 May **MAY 7** Richard Tilt Director General of the Prison Service announces proposals to establish Race Relations Group... Report on racism in cricket reveals that a cricketing apartheid is being created with black cricketers being ostracised **MAY 9** Jack Straw announces proposals for police to prosecute and deport illegal immigrants in an attempt to speed up the asylum process **MAY 10** Andryz Jakubczyk wins £7,000 in out of court damages

after allegations of being beaten up by four Wormwood Scrubs prison guards... DPP Barbara Mills announces resignation from CPS before two damning reports about her conduct are published **MAY 11** Racists vandalise memorial plaque for Stephen Lawrence for second time in six months... Lord Irvine to investigate claims of racism from Asian lawyer Sarosh Zaiwalla who complained about three of the country's most senior judges... Metropolitan police announce introduction of new video helmets to mounted police for use against football hooligans, Cleveland police already use helmets during marches and demonstrations **MAY 12** 23-year-old Jamaican Althea Matron loses appeal against Sheriff Court ruling that her 6-year-old daughter should live with foster parents, she now faces deportation with her other daughter... Eight Algerians arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, police allege that the men were planning to disrupt the World Cup... 20-year-old Asian man stabbed in the hip by two white youths in racist attack in Stratford, east London **MAY 13** Isleworth Labour and Conservative councillors refuse to work with Phil Andrews an independent elected in local elections last week as he is revealed as a leading member of NF in eighties... Racists attack 15-year-old boy with knife in Newcastle's West End, telling him never to return to the area **MAY 14** Lawyers acting for the men named as Stephen Lawrence's murderers by Daily Mail ask for a judicial review of the decision to make them give evidence at inquiry... Mal Hussein loses case at

Court of Appeal when judges rule Lancaster City Council not liable for council tenants who waged seven year campaign of racist abuse and attacks **MAY 15** Lawrence inquiry hears from Duwayne Brooks who testifies that police officers refused to help as Stephen Lawrence lay dying... CPS decides not to prosecute A. A. Gill for 'offensive' articles about the Welsh **MAY 20** Immigration adjudicator rules in favour of eight Roma claiming asylum on grounds of persecution in test case... Home Office announces introduction of heartbeat scanners in UK's main ports of entry to detect suspected illegal immigrants.

# Subscribe NOW!

- ☐ I wish to receive ..... copies of CARF each issue to sell.
  - ☐ I wish to subscribe to CARF for one year starting with issue No 45 and enclose £7.50 (individuals)/£12 (institutions).\*
  - ☐ We wish to become a CARF supporting organisation and enclose £70 for one year's subscription of 10 copies per issue.\*
  - ☐ I wish to become a CARF supporter and make a regular donation to CARF. Please send me a banker's order form.
  - ☐ I enclose £..... donation to CARF.\*
- (\*All cheques payable to CARF)

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

Please return to: CARF, BM Box 8784  
London WC1N 3XX.